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A HISTORY OF THE EARLY MINING-CAMP NEWSPAPERS

LAWRENCE COUNTY, SOUTH DAKOTA

BY

HELEN MORGANTI

A thesis submitted
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree Master of Science, Department of
Journalism, South Dakota State
College of Agriculture
and Mechanic Arts

December, 1962

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**A HISTORY OF THE EARLY MINING-CAMP NEWSPAPERS
OF LAWRENCE COUNTY, SOUTH DAKOTA**

This thesis is approved as a creditable, independent investigation by a candidate for the degree, Master of Science, and is acceptable as meeting the thesis requirements for this degree, but without implying that the conclusions reached by the candidate are necessarily the conclusions of the major department.

Thesis Adviser

Head of the Major Department

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INTRODUCTION

"No Sunday west of Junction City and no God west of Salina,"¹ was truly a statement which characterized Dakota Territory from 1876 until the turn of the century when some modicum of community government was organized.

The short day of the wild figures of the West where no social distinctions existed, and where the concept of democracy was its most striking characteristic, are gone, but the effect still lives on. Goldmining, which brought the pioneers to the Indian infested country and to the last frontier in America, is still the chief industry of Lawrence County, the area with which this study is concerned.

Location and Size

The County is located in the Black Hills of South Dakota along the west-central border of the state. It is bordered on the west by the state of Wyoming, on the north by Butte County, on the east by Meade County, and on the south by Pennington County. Lawrence County is 32 miles long and 30 miles wide and contains 800 square miles.²

¹C. D. Huggins, Out Where the West Begins (New York: Harper & Sons, 1886), p. 1

²U. S. Department of Commerce, Bulletin No. 37 (Washington D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1957), p. 258.

Of the more than forty camps which mushroomed during the gold-rush days, today nine major communities remain including Lead, the largest of the group, Deadwood, Spearfish, Central City, Whitewood, Terraville, Pluma, St. Onge, and Nemo, in order of population as of the 1960 census.

Topography

About 55 per cent of the land in Lawrence County today is located in the Black Hills National Forest. Approximately 45 per cent of the land is used for farming and ranching.³

The climate of Lawrence County is typical of most mid-western states. There are four distinct seasons. The temperature ranges between the two extremes of over 100 degrees on the hottest summer day to about 30 degrees below zero on the coldest winter day. Lawrence County has an average precipitation of 17.1 inches per year, including an average of 48 inches of snowfall per winter.⁴

The County has three paved highways that intersect the area. Federal Highway 85 runs north and south while Federal Highway 14 carries the east and west traffic.

There are three main rivers and streams in the area which flow to the northeast. Redwater River is the boundary

³Ibid., p. 1.

⁴Ibid., p. 1.

line for the northwestern corner of the county. It is now used mostly for irrigation. Spearfish Creek furnishes the power to operate two hydro-electric plants. After Spearfish Creek flows to the foothills, the water is used for irrigation on the farmlands in Spearfish Valley. White-wood Creek is polluted with the waste products from the Homestake Gold Mine. All of these streams and rivers empty into the Belle Fourche River.

The highest point in Lawrence County is Crooks Tower with an elevation of 7,140 feet, while the lowest point is approximately 3,400 feet in elevation along the Redwater River. Lawrence County is divided into two distinct regions; the north third of the county is located in the foothills and is used for farm and ranch land, while the rest of the county is mountainous and covered with pine and spruce trees mainly.

Industrial and Economic Aspects

From 1876 up to and including the present time, mining has been and is the chief industry in Lawrence County. The Homestake Mining Company, whose lode was discovered in 1876, is the largest gold mine on the North American continent. Its total production from 1876 through 1960 was approximately 25,000,000 ounces of gold and 6,000,000 ounces of silver for a value of

\$700,000,000.⁵

The Homestake Mining Company has owned and operated its own tree farms, saw-mills, hydro-electric plants, railroads, hospital, and water system since 1906. In 1914, the Company built a recreation center which provides swimming and bowling, free of charge, to the citizens of Lead and surrounding areas. It also operates a free library, which was established in 1907 by Randolph and Phoebe Hearst. Randolph Hearst was the prime stockholder of the company of mining men in San Francisco who bought the original Homestake holdings from the two Manual brothers, Sam and Mose, who discovered the vein. Mrs. Hearst, philanthropist that she was, endowed the free library and also started the first kindergarten in the area, known until 1934 as the Hearst Free Kindergarten, when the Lead Public School took over its operation.

Most of Lawrence County today, as in the past, is either directly or indirectly affected by the Homestake Mining Company's operations.

Only about nine per cent of the population of Lawrence County as late as 1954 was engaged in operating the nearly 340 farms and ranches in the area.⁶

⁵Figures obtained from C. N. Kravig, Mine Superintendent, Homestake Mining Company, Lead, South Dakota.

⁶U. S. Department of Commerce, County and City Data Book (Washington D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1957), p. 264.

From the beginning up to 1910, when the only industrial trouble occurred with an attempt by the Miners' Union to organize the camp, 90 per cent of the workers were foreign born. The population of the city of Lead in 1910 was 11,000 with the group being made up of peoples from the Slavonic countries counting for 20 per cent; another 20 per cent Italians; 30 per cent from Finland; and the remaining 22 per cent made up of Swedes, Norwegians, Poles, and Frenchmen. Only 8 per cent were American born.⁷

Today, even though the original immigrants have passed away, the ensuing generations have remained to man the jobs which their parents had.

The nine cities and towns in Lawrence County range in population from Lead, with 6,211 people, to Nemo, with a population of 105. Five of the nine cities are located in the mountains near the center of the county.

Terraville is located on a mountain peak, with only two secondary roads linking the mountain to Central City and Lead.

Deadwood is the county seat and is widely known for its historical personalities such as "Wild Bill" Hickok and Calamity Jane.

Central City and Pluma are two small communities located between Deadwood and Lead. Most of the citizens of

⁷Files of the Homestake Mining Company, Public Relations Office.

the two are employed by Homestake.

Spearfish, the second largest city in the county now, is located approximately in the center of the northern third of the county.

Whitewood is located near the border of Meade County. At present, this town's main industry is the post plant. It also serves as a residential area for the persons who work in Sturgis, in Meade County, at the United States Government Defense Projects.

The conquest of these wilds was an adventure in which the newspapers, whose sometimes meagre files are the sole day-to-day history in existence, helped to miraculously transform a population of Europeans of diverse origins into a nation of Americans.

The papers assisted in accomplishing this transformation by reporting everything without class distinction. The Slavonian's baptism received as much space as the miner who brought in the largest nugget to date; the murder in the saloon and the arrival of 40 immigrants complete with names, homelands, and the names of the boats on which they arrived, received about the same space in the county's weeklies and dailies of the time.

Proving up and settling disputes over claims brought members of the legal profession, who seem to have been more numerous in the boom towns than men of any other profession. The land-office business, which brought legal advisors,

was also the prime reason for the origin of many of the newspapers which were born and died rather sudden deaths at that time.⁸

Newspapers were frequently established to promote townsites and to advance a town's claim to county-seat status. In many communities the first newspapers were subsidized, usually in the form of a deeded lot and building, although sometimes the main consideration was a small cash bonus. However, the income derived from legal printing required under the homestead law was sufficient motivation for most of the newspapers that came into being during the Dakota boom. After 1879, every occupant of a homestead was required to run a final-proof notice in five consecutive issues of the newspaper nearest his claim. Contest notices also had to be published. During the boom period, the usual fee for a patent or final-proof notice was \$6.50, and \$5.00 for a contest notice.⁹

Newspaper plants rushed into new communities so as to be on the spot when the first patent notices appeared. The first issue of many papers was often printed under a tent. Most of the papers carried the so-called patent insides, or patent outsides, which were printed in some

⁸H. S. Schell, History of South Dakota (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1961).

⁹Ibid., p. 2.

distant city and shipped to the county newspaper plant, where the rest of the issue was made up from local items. It was not unusual for papers at this time to carry as many as 200 or more patent notices in a single issue.¹⁰

When final-proof notices became less plentiful, many of the papers disappeared.

The first hint that printers were beginning to show interest in establishing themselves in the Black Hills was found in the Cheyenne Leader of January 14, 1876, which reported that Robert E. Strahorn, traveling correspondent of the Denver Rocky Mountain News, ". . . contemplates starting a newspaper at the Black Hills early in the coming spring." No further reference can be found to Mr. Strahorn or his proposed idea, however.

Next, the Leader of March 1, 1876, reported that a pair of "blacksmiths" (printers' slang for incompetent craftsmen) had left for Custer City that day with talk about starting a newspaper there. Nothing seems to have come of that either, as no further record can be found that they ever arrived at their contemplated destination.

With this background in mind, then, the problems of this study include: (1) to trace the beginnings of the newspapers of the mining camps of Lawrence County, South Dakota; (2) collect and classify the information on the

¹⁰Black Hills Pioneer, June 26, 1876.

contents of the papers; and (3) secure as much information as humanly possible from participants still alive and from records available on the publishers and owners of those papers.

THE DEADWOOD PIONEER-TIMES

Eighty-six years of living and dying, war and peace, disaster and joy, panic and prosperity, are recorded in the files of the Deadwood Daily Pioneer-Times. This paper has the distinction of being the second oldest newspaper in South Dakota, being antedated only by the Yankton Press and Dakotian, which is still extant.

Eighty-six years is a long time in the life of a newspaper. The Deadwood Pioneer-Times, an official newspaper of Lawrence County from 1876 to the present day, was the first and is the only one still in existence.

Extremely rare is the person who can recall with accuracy the happenings of more than eight decades. This is not true of the newspaper in whose files a day-by-day record of people and events is preserved for generations long beyond the present.

The Black Hills Pioneer in Deadwood issued its first daily publication 86 years ago when South Dakota was still a territory. The enterprising publishers of the Black Hills Pioneer moved their equipment from Custer to Deadwood on borrowed money with the hope that the 1876 citizens of Deadwood Gulch would be as news hungry as they were gold hungry. Financial stress was not the only difficulty encountered by this paper. "The Pioneer's publishers printed an entire week's issues outdoors."¹¹

¹¹Black Hills Pioneer, June 8, 1876, p. 1.

In spite of the hazards of early-day life, The Pioneer has outlived some 20 other newspapers and was consolidated with the Black Hills Times in 1897. During these 86 years, the history of Deadwood from the days of "the great wilderness"¹² has been faithfully recorded and preserved in the Pioneer-Times files. Some of these files are yellowed with age and many of the persons whose names are printed therein are long since gone, but the life of a community shows its growth in each day's issue.

Nature had a big hand in providing the wealth which made this area prosper, but the men and women who wanted homes are responsible for its continuation. With foresight similar to other civic pioneers, editors W. A. Laughlin and A. W. Merrick of the Pioneer stated in the first edition of that paper the feelings of every good newspaperman and citizen:

We came here not to try the gulches or leads for gold, but to give to those who have this work in hand, the very latest news. We shall do everything in our power to bring the country of the Black Hills into civilization and to replace the nomads of the plains by a people of enterprise and determination, sufficient to make the great wilderness from Nebraska to Wyoming to the British possessions the home of a happy and prosperous people.¹³

The dispatch of the printers from their home post in Denver was found in the Denver Times, March 9, 1876:

¹²Ibid., p. 2.

¹³Ibid., p. 1.

Denver enjoys the distinction of being the first to send a completely equipped printing office to the Black Hills. A complete newspaper outfit, owned by Messrs. Laughlin and Merrick, left here for the Hills within the past two days. Both gentlemen have been well and favorably known to the fraternity in this city for several years past, Mr. Laughlin as foreman of the Farmer office and Mr. Merrick as a compositor in the Rocky Mountain News office. They propose to establish a weekly at first, and if circumstances justify, to establish a daily.

It had taken the Laughlin and Merrick wagons about a week to cover the hundred miles or so from Denver to Cheyenne and the rest of their journey was fraught with even greater difficulties. The Cheyenne Leader reported their arrival in Cheyenne March 14 and after 12 days, March 26, reported:

Messrs. Laughlin & Merrick, who recently left this City with the material for the publication of the Black Hills Pioneer, employed a tenderfoot as driver of one of their teams, and the result was that said wagon was upset between Cheyenne and Ft. Laramie, making a bad mess of what is known in printers' parlance as "pi."

And in the Cheyenne Daily Sun, March 30, 1876, more bad luck to the venturesome duo was reported: "Mr. Laughlin of Laughlin & Merrick of the Black Hills Pioneer, is seriously ill at Ft. Laramie." Of the other partner, whose arrival was also reported in the same issue of the Leader: "Mr. Merrick is an old typo, a tip-top good fellow and should stack up loads of ducats in the new enterprise."

The original plan was to locate at Custer where the partners stopped and unpacked their plant, but with one edition off the press, a report of rich diggings in the northern

Hills reached the camp, which was occasion for a stampede, leaving the new town of Custer an almost deserted village overnight.¹⁴ The two newsmen were out of funds and stranded.

When the hour of despair seemed to be darkest, there came to their rescue a fellow printer and leader of men who opened to them the door of opportunity. Captain C. V. Gardner, who arrived in Custer May 14, 1876, and who had been in the newspaper business in Iowa, sought out the owners in the hope of going to work for them.¹⁵

He found Merrick and Laughlin and was informed that they were stranded and anxious to follow the crowd to the new gold fields of Deadwood Gulch.

Laughlin was suffering from arthritis and tuberculosis and was lying on a blanket spread over pine boughs. Gardner was told that they needed \$205 to reach the new site. Adventurer that he was, millwright and mining man, he set about to secure funds on the guarantee to the owners that their expenses would be paid on arrival in Deadwood.

Gardner went to Deadwood and circulated a petition asking for funds to bring the newspaper to the camp, heading the list with his donation of \$25. He talked seven businessmen into the venture, made up the rest of the required

¹⁴Ibid., p. 1.

¹⁵Ibid., June 15, 1876, p. 3.

sum himself, and brought the plant and its equipment to Deadwood.¹⁶

Upon arrival in Deadwood, Laughlin's condition was much worse, and he asked Gardner to purchase his interest in the paper, which the latter did and wrote some of the items for the first issue.

The second number was written entirely by Captain Gardner, and at the printing of the third issue, he became half owner and publisher. His partner, Mr. Merrick, was an able mechanic, but did not attempt to do any writing while Gardner was connected with the paper.¹⁷

Gardner continued with the paper for six months and then sold out his interest to Merrick who handled it alone.

With the help then of Captain Gardner, Merrick and Laughlin loaded up and went with the prospectors, launched the Black Hills Pioneer at Deadwood as a weekly, and May 15, 1877, started the daily, which has been published continuously for more than three-fourths of a century, changing hands several times.

The first edition of the Black Hills Pioneer dated June 8, 1876, a 5-column tabloid sheet,¹⁸ carried a reprint from the Cheyenne Sun which read:

¹⁶Ibid., p. 1.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 1.

¹⁸A paper half the size of the ordinary paper.

Laughlin and Merrick arrived on the D. P. train yesterday and are stopping at the Inter-Ocean. The two men are passing through Cheyenne on their way to the Hills to establish a paper.

The masthead of that first edition read:

The Pioneer is the first established newspaper in the Black Hills and contains full and reliable information in regard to the Mines and other resources of this section of the country.

Terms: One year, \$5; six months, \$3; three months, \$2; single copy, 25¢.

Advertising rates furnished upon application. No subscription entered on list until payment is received.

In column one the following notice appeared:

We issue today only a half-sheet. Our regular issue will be just double the size of the present copy. But owing to the fact that we are working almost all out of doors, with the elements apparently conspiring against us, it is impossible to fill the bill as we anticipated. Our material has been in Deadwood less than a week; our house is not up; it has rained two days during the time; and we think everyone who knows anything about the mechanical work of a printing office will appreciate our condition and bear for the present with the very best it is possible to do. Everybody wants a paper. We propose to give you one, and a GOOD ONE too, but it takes a little time under the most favorable circumstances to unpack an office and do the work.

The outfit of these early printers consisted of a power press and type enough for a daily, with such an assortment of material which would enable them to do limited job printing in the region.¹⁹

¹⁹Ibid., p. 1.

Of the five columns of that first edition's front page, three were devoted to testimonials to the two owners taken from papers in Colorado and Wyoming.

A description of the Pioneer office in Deadwood was found in the Cheyenne Leader's files of August 17, 1876:

The office is in a two-story building, back from the street, on a side hill, sandwiched between two houses of peculiar traffic--a layer of virtue to two of vice. The paper is written, set up and printed all in one room. The paper is worked off on a half-medium Gordon press. The bed of the press is exactly the size of one page of the Pioneer, which makes it necessary to make four impressions for every paper issued--and yet, with all the drawbacks incident to a frontier publisher's life, the paper is spicy, prompt in the publication of news, and chuck full of business.

But the Pioneer had difficulties other than those of limited press capacity. Paper supply in the remote Black Hills was a real problem. The old copies show that the Pioneer was being printed on a "dingy colored wrapping paper."²⁰

In the files it is found that October 25, 1876, C. V. Gardner was no longer the editor and that "Dr. C. W. Myer, late of the Cheyenne Sun, is the new editor of the Black Hills Pioneer."²¹

During the latter part of March, Merrick took a trip to Chicago where he purchased a press, type, and other materials to refit the Pioneer office.

²⁰Ibid., p. 1.

²¹Files of Deadwood Pioneer-Times, May 26, 1926, p. 12.

The Cheyenne Sun reported June 21, 1877, that:

The Deadwood Pioneer appeared Sunday, June 17, for the first time as a daily. It is a handsome 6-column sheet, the largest paper published in the Black Hills, and being well edited will undoubtedly become the favorite and best patronized in the Eldorado.

The death of W. A. Laughlin was reported in the Sun of July 19, 1877: "W. A. Laughlin, one of the founders of the Black Hills Pioneer, died at Black Hawk, Dakota Territory, last Tuesday."

Other writers connected with the Pioneer in those early days were L. E. Whitbeck, Col. Pat Donan, Ham Utley, Major W. R. Snider (sometimes spelled Snyder), Col. A. R. Z. Dawson, Judge G. G. Bennett, and E. W. Van Cise. The August 4, 1876, Cheyenne Leader reported:

Judge H. N. Maguire, a former editor of the Pioche, Nevada, Daily Record in 1873, and a veteran journalist of the west, is now connected with the Black Hills Pioneer.

The Pioneer had its beginning in the gold rush of 1876, and gold and its ramifications have been its dominant theme ever since.²² Gold has been the foundation of the growth and progress of the Northern Black Hills and the newspaper has faithfully followed its development.

The first pressman was Joseph Kubler, who was born in Alsace, France, and came to the United States in 1870, arriving in Custer in April of 1876. He joined Laughlin and

²²Schell, op. cit., p. 3.

Merrick in their one-edition enterprise in Custer and came to Deadwood with them. He returned to Custer and in 1879 established the Custer County Chronicle which he published for more than fifty years and which is still in existence.

The news stories of the Black Hills Pioneer were mostly reprinted from other newspapers and were concerned with the Indian troubles, the gold discoveries, and the pioneer editors. The second page presented local items about people and events. It also had one and one-half columns of advertising. No ad was longer than two inches.

The Pioneer, a weekly which became a daily in June, 1877, with a subscription price of \$18 per year, on December 1, 1877, changed its name to the Deadwood Pioneer.

Early in the eighties, after the Pioneer had passed through several hands, W. H. Bonham, Charley Maskrey, and J. C. Moody took hold and gave the paper a new lease on life by furnishing new capital and new equipment and taking and intensified interest in good newspapering with local, state, and national news being featured.²³

The management of the Pioneer, during its twenty years of existence as a daily paper, changed financially and editorially as many as fifteen times. The record of the sheet includes:

²³Deadwood Pioneer, June 15, 1891.

1877, A. W. Merrick appears to be handling the craft alone. In 1878 we find R. O. Adams at the helm. Subsequent changes occurred in the following order: in 1879, Merrick & Adams; in 1880, R. O. Adams; in 1880, R. D. Kelly, two weeks; in 1881, Vanocker & Merrick; in 1882, Frank Vanocker; in 1882, G. G. Bennett, six months; in 1883, A. W. Merrick; in 1884, T. J. Edwards, Pinneo brothers, & Merrick; in 1884, Edwards & Pinneo; in 1885-1886, Bonham, Maskrey, & Moody; in 1886, W. H. & F. M. Bonham; in 1886-1887, Bonham & Kelly; from 1887 to 1897, the Pioneer Publishing Company was under the management of W. H. Bonham.²⁴

The Times

The publishers of the Pioneer, Laughlin and Merrick, enjoyed an exclusive field for less than a year. The second newspaper to be published in Deadwood was a daily, the Black Hills Times, which was established in 1877. The first issue appeared April 7 that year with Porter Warner as the publisher.

Mr. Warner also came from Denver, but was originally from Chicago. Warner conducted the Times for nearly 20 years through fire and flood and political upheavals. On his staff during the early years of the paper's existence were Dan Scott, Jimmie Martin, Hank Wright, and Gene Decker, all of whom were well known in the Black Hills at that time.

The Times in the early days printed not only the news and events of the day, but featured literary efforts

²⁴Lawrence K. Fox, Who's Who Among South Dakotans, Vol. 1, 1924, 1925.

efforts as well, for the Press and Dakotian of February 5, 1880, printed that: "Dan Scott is writing a serial love story for the Deadwood Times called 'Rival Lovers,' or 'The Wheelbarrow Fiend of the Fire Scare.' "²⁵

A typical issue of the Black Hills Daily Times of 1881 was more than half advertising. Of the 8-column, 4-page newspaper, from 20 to 24 columns were devoted to advertising. This did not include the announcements and small ads scattered through the local and news columns.

The front page carried from four to six columns of ads, with the remaining news columns centered. The news on this page covered arrivals and departures, new businesses opening, court reports, and foreign news.

Consistent advertisers were the Northwestern Stage and Express Company, the breweries, saloons, clothing, saddlery, and hardware stores. The car advertising of today was preceded by the "fine top buggies" and surreys of the wagon companies. All of the ads were small in comparison to present standards.

The two inside pages were devoted to patent medicines, banks, assayers, watchmakers, national products, hotels, bakeries, and stage and hack lines. Legal notices took up a large part of page three. The remainder of these two sheets carried local news, such as births, obituaries, and

²⁵Press and Dakotian, February 5, 1880.

marriages under two columns entitled "Minor Matters" and "Personal Mentions."

The advertisements changed little from day to day. It took time to set them by hand and the publishers were prone to permit the same copy to run for many days and sometimes months.

The masthead of the Black Hills Daily Times was set in this fashion:

Black Hills Times; Deadwood Dakota Territory, July 1, 1886.

Cost 5¢; Vol. X, No. 72

Circulation exceeds that of many other newspapers in Dakota Territory.

Published every morning except Monday by

Porter Warner

Editor and Publisher

Terms: invariably in advance:

Daily, one yr.	\$12.00
6 months	6.00
3 months	3.00
1 month	1.00
Weekly one yr.	3.00
6 months	1.75
3 months	1.00

Many features were published from boiler plate material. "The Universal Language, Spiritanto" was one of the features which ran in the Times for several weeks beginning with the July 1, 1886, issue.

The Times and Pioneer were consolidated as the Deadwood Daily Pioneer-Times, May 13, 1897, thus ending two decades of colorful, lively, and competitive news coverage. Both Willis H. Bonham, who edited the Pioneer, and Warner of the Times were facile writers and neither hesitated to

speak his mind in strong terms on any subject that interested him or the gold camp. They engaged in frequent controversies and pulled no punches in their editorials, whether the subject was some item that had appeared in the opposing paper or on a national issue.²⁶

The July 10, 1886, issue of the Pioneer and the following issue of the Times carried editorials on drinking. Bonham exposed the fact that saloons were selling less and less beer, and private homes were never without the drink. Bonham felt that this was demoralizing to youngsters, seeing the drinking done in the homes. Warner took the opposite stand, vociferously saying that seeing drinking done in the home would not make the drink "forbidden fruit."

Another controversy which was started in the Times September 3, 1889, and was picked up by the Pioneer two days later, and which lasted for several weeks, was the international situation being created in Corea (as it was then spelled) where Russia had seized Port Lazaroff and England, Port Hamilton. Both agreed Russia should be stopped, but the amount of force and actual participation was the crux of the argument. Warner was for "all out" defense of the country.

Both papers, the Pioneer and the Times, had what it took for survival, and after a rivalry which continued for

²⁶Deadwood Pioneer, November 26, 1897.

twenty years, the two were merged May 15, 1897, to form the extant Deadwood Pioneer-Times.

Mr. Warner later in 1897 was appointed receiver of the U. S. Land Office in Rapid City and died in office before the expiration of his term.²⁷

Probably no man exerted a greater voice in South Dakota publishing circles than Willis H. Bonham, co-editor for a few months with Porter Warner of the newly formed Deadwood Pioneer-Times and then sole owner of the paper, which he ran for almost half a century alone.

He began his newspaper career in 1878, running a hand press on the Pioneer. In 1885, he became its sole owner. From that time on the Pioneer, and after his purchase of the Black Hills Times from Porter Warner and the consolidation, the Pioneer-Times was the mouthpiece of the Black Hills.²⁸

This paper led the field in news coverage by having in its employ nine reporters with some working in the immediate area and others throughout the state. Its editorials were widely quoted throughout the surrounding states. Bonham had courage and determination and, through his paper, was instrumental in bringing about many needed reforms and improvements in city, county, and state. He never was

²⁷Ibid., p. 3.

²⁸Rapid City Journal, May 20, 1900.

"on the fence" politically. Nor, judging from the editorial content of the 50-year files, did he cling tenaciously to his political party, although the Pioneer-Times was and is strongly Republican.²⁹

In 1921, his nephews, Leland V. and Earl B. Morford, became associated with him in the management of the newspaper. He continued actively until his death November 30, 1927.

Leland bought his brother's interests in 1929, becoming the sole owner. He operated the paper until January 1, 1945, when he sold out to O. A. Kelley, Deadwood, who guided the destiny of the Pioneer-Times for one year, 1945. Carl and Roy Sundstrom, who now own the Custer Chronicle, purchased the business January 1, 1946, only to sell it in August of the same year to the Seaton Publishing Company, its present owners.

When the Seaton Publishing Company bought the Pioneer-Times, they also purchased the Lead Daily Call. This is an incorporated company named for Fay N. Seaton who owned several papers in Kansas and Nebraska, with each incorporated as a separate paper, not a member of a chain. Fay Seaton's two sons, Fred, former Secretary of the Interior in the Eisenhower cabinet, and R. M. are now the active officers of the concern. Fred is president of the Lead paper

²⁹Pioneer-Times, June 21, 1951, Anniversary Edition.

and the Pioneer-Times; R. M. is vice-president; M. B. Chilcott is secretary-treasurer. With 17 other stockholders, these men operate the company. The stockholders are all employees of the concern. Chilcott is also the editor and business manager of the company.

OTHER DEADWOOD NEWSPAPERS

Newspapers were born but died quick deaths in the early days of Deadwood. The Black Hills Times in the April 2, 1897, issue carried a front page story of the demise of a newspaper. On a picture of a gravestone were the words:

Died
The Deadwood Journal
Born: March 2, 1897
Died: April 1, 1897
Requiescat in Peace.

The newspaper, published by Mark Scott, like many others made a splurge for a few weeks and then was abandoned.³⁰

It was this high mortality that was partially responsible for the consolidation of the Times and the Pioneer. The union of the two papers was effected with little announcement.

The Times May 13, 1897, stated in a 2-column editorial:

Today, Thursday, May 13, marks the end of the existence of the Pioneer and the Times as individual or separate newspapers and the wedding of the two newspapers will take place during the early morning hours of this day; ceremonies, strictly private. The individuality of the two separate papers ends, and what of good they contained will be concentrated into the Daily Pioneer-Times which in consolidated form will make its bow tomorrow morning.

³⁰Deadwood Pioneer-Times, June 21, 1951, Anniversary Edition.

Porter Warner, the editor, declared that no history of the paper was necessary but pledged his efforts to the best newspaper possible.

Concerning the consolidation he said,

. . . the uniting of the two interests is far better than the start of a "starving out" process. It is an undisputed fact that the success of a newspaper in any community must depend in a large measure upon the amount of advertising patronage it can secure, and in a certain degree the merchants and business men of the city and country immediately surrounding us must be the main reliance for such business, and while it may not be considered much of a task to support one or two good newspapers in a city like Deadwood, it certainly is a burden to support more than that number.³¹

While the Deadwood Pioneer-Times is the only newspaper that has been published in Deadwood consistently for 86 years, others were born over the years. Some lasted but a few days, some a few weeks, and others enlivened the scene for a few years, but all eventually abandoned or consolidated with the Pioneer-Times.

Of the several other papers that were started and published in Deadwood, it is not possible to give anything like complete details due to two great fires in Deadwood in 1879 and again in 1905.

There were the Black Hills Miner, Western Enterprise, Deadwood Press, Evening News (1879-1881 and 1901), Mining Journal, Deadwood Post, Deadwood Journal, Independent,

³¹Deadwood Pioneer-Times, May 31, 1897.

the Equality, and the Lantern, the last three being founded by Freeman Knowles. During the year 1879, while Mr. Knowles was in Congress, the Independent was published by I. R. Crow and C. C. Crandall, who were succeeded in 1898 by Guy Knowles and Roy Sharp. The latter turned the paper over in a few months to the law firm of Templeton & McLaughlin, who were succeeded by I. A. Webb. The Evening News of 1901 was started by Ira Hungerford but was suspended with the issue of the 15th number. The Evening News of 1879-1881 was established by E. B. Miller, who was afterward postmaster in Pierre during Cleveland's first administration.³²

The Deadwood Journal was launched in March, 1897, by Mark Scott, with his father Dan as editor-in-chief. It was a promising daily from outward appearances, but it ran its course in about six weeks due to insufficient business in Deadwood at the time to support three dailies. Scott also shipped material from Omaha to start a paper about the same time at Preston, better known as "Ragged Top," another mining camp, but never unpacked the goods since the mushroom camp became a ghost town almost over night.

There were numerous other printing establishments begun in Deadwood within the next few years, but most of them had short careers. They included the Evening Press which was started in 1879 and edited by William R. Snider and

³²Ibid., p. 2.

John Stone; the Black Hills Democrat about 1882; the Black Hills Herald in 1886; and the Independent in 1889, which lasted until 1899 and then vanished from the scene.³³

In 1906, there appeared in Deadwood a newspaper which was to stir the city in many respects. It was the Deadwood Telegram. Two years later it was purchased by E. L. Senn, who at one time owned 110 papers throughout the state when the publication of legal notices brought good financial returns.

Senn was a crusader, and he sought through the columns of his newspaper to clean up Deadwood of the vice and corruption which he maintained existed there. His editorials and news attacks on conditions were in a measure successful, although they were not received with great enthusiasm by many of the residents. His plant was wrecked on several occasions, but he continued actively until his appointment as federal prohibition director for South Dakota in 1918.

Some of the issues in which he was involved included bootlegging, existence and condoning of the red light districts, and gambling.

His son Albert finally purchased the plant after the newspaper had also gone to publishing the Black Hills Weekly.

³³G. P. Rowell & Co., American Newspaper Directory (New York: George P. Rowell & Co., 1885)

Eventually it became only the Black Hills Weekly which was purchased by Elizabeth Howe of Deadwood, April 10, 1930.

Under Miss Howe's direction, the Black Hills Weekly became one of the most interesting newspapers of the Hills. Its specialty was bringing to its readers the unusual, the stories often passed up by others that lent color and romance to the community.³⁴

She found the human interest stories behind the scenes of local families, featuring a bride's trip from her native land alone to come to her husband whom she had never seen and had married by proxy; the romantic stories of miners who had traveled "back home" to get their brides; the difficulties with monetary exchange, language barriers, etc. causing problems and amusing incidents--all were the special stories she covered.

In 1945, the Weekly was sold to O. A. Kelly, who had purchased the Pioneer-Times, and its publication as a weekly has continued ever since. It is still published with a circulation of 1,500 among those who are living in other parts of the country (former residents) and is circulated throughout Lawrence County. It is also now the official paper of Whitewood.

³⁴Rowell, op. cit., p. 232.

Central City

Central City, one mile north of Lead on Highway 14A, was one of the most important mining towns of the early days. The Herald was Central City's first newspaper and was advertised in Rowell's Newspaper Directory of 1879.

The Herald, a daily, appeared in 1877, the editor being J. S. Bartholomew. It was the first paper in the Black Hills to be printed on a steam press. Despite this indication of progressive direction, the Herald must have had financial difficulties throughout its career, as its contemporaries reported in December, 1877, that a mortgagee tried to collect his debt by seizing the equipment of the Herald office, a fact which so aroused the temper of Mr. Bartholomew that he drove his creditor off with a double-barrelled shot gun. In spite of this incident, the mortgage must have eventually been foreclosed as the Herald passed out of existence in 1881 according to the report of A. D. Tallent in The Black Hills, Last Hunting Ground of the Dakotah's.³⁵

From the Pioneer-Times of April 11, 1901, we find that:

Frank N. Potter sold the Central City Register to Joe Todd who has been running the paper under lease for weveral months. Mr. P. intends to start

³⁵A. D. Tallent, The Black Hills, p. 527.

for Salt Lake City where he will go into business. He says he is through with newspaper work for the present.

In all, Central City had four newspapers, the Herald, published from 1877 to 1881; the Champion, edited by Charles Collins, which lasted about a year; the Enterprise, from 1881 to 1882; and the Register. The latter lived until 1900 and then was moved to Lead and eventually passed out of existence.³⁶

In 1878, Mr. Collins, who was a restless, wandering spirit, moved his outfit to Bison where he remained for only a few months. In July, 1879, he again took flight, this time going eastward to Brule County where his paper became the Brule City Times.³⁷

The Enterprise, mentioned above, was the business of T. J. Webster and lived just one year. The Black Hills Index first appeared about 1882 but also died before the end of 1883.³⁸

The Black Hills Champion

In the April 11, 1876, issue of the Black Hills Herald while still in Custer City, a news item said:

³⁶Deadwood Pioneer-Times, June 21, 1896.

³⁷Tallent, op. cit., p. 529.

³⁸Ibid., p. 531.

Mr. Charles Collins, the editor of a proposed newspaper to Gayville, has had some misfortune. He had arrived in Yankton on the way to the Black Hills bringing with him his entire printing outfit, only to have it destroyed in a fire on the steamer Carroll on the Missouri River near Fort Randall. He had intended to freight it from the Missouri by team, but the press and type are gone.

After replacing the lost equipment, Collins finally established his paper at Deadwood instead of Gayville, which by this time was another dwindling camp. Collins was going to call his paper the Deadwood Times, but on arrival found that name already in use, so chose the title the Black Hills Champion.³⁹

The first issue of the Black Hills Champion, published by Collins, appeared June 2, 1877. The only issue in existence is now in the Chicago Historical Society's newspaper collection. For three months thereafter, the little town of Deadwood had three daily newspapers.⁴⁰

The Laramie Daily Sentinel of August 6, 1877, picked up a news item in which it was reported that the Champion had been leased to Messers. Scott & Co., and that a Jack Stone had been added to the Champion's personnel.

A few weeks later, the Sentinel of September 3, said: "The Deadwood Champion, born on the 2nd of June last, died August 26th. The office has gone to Central City where

³⁹Deadwood Pioneer-Times, June 21, 1951.

⁴⁰I. R. Crow, unpublished diary, p. 64.

a weekly will be issued."

The initial Central City issue of the Champion came out Saturday, September 29, but its obituary was recorded in the Cheyenne Daily Sun October 16 in a story reprinted from Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper:

A picture of Collins' Champion office at Central City shows it to be a low wooden structure with slab sides and a slab roof. Charley himself, stands at the door trying to induce an Indian to subscribe for the paper and promising to have two or three columns a day set up in the Sioux jargon. The Indian evidently can't see it, as he wraps his blanket about him and makes no sign of reaching for his pocketbook. We judge that the Champion liar of the Hills is about played out.

Collins claims to have begun the first daily newspaper in every territory in the Union and to have established 113 papers in all. He did give a great deal of publicity to the Hills and other sections of Dakota.⁴¹

⁴¹Brown and Willard, The Black Hills Trails (Rapid City, South Dakota: Rapid City Journal Company, 1924), p. 329.

LEAD CITY

Lead was more successful than Central City in establishing a permanent press. Several of its newspapers survived the statehood period. The first printing, the Register, was founded by Dan Scott in January, 1878. It continued through 1912. The Lead Daily Tribune, established in 1881 by T. D. Edwards and T. M. Pinneo, became a weekly in 1888 and merged with the Lead Daily Call in 1906.

The Lead Daily Call is the second newspaper of Lawrence County which has survived and assimilated other small sheets and remains on the streets of the city today.

Little attention has been given to the history of the newspapers in Lead. For some reason, the newspapermen themselves overlooked the mention of even their own publications when a history of the town and community appeared in their columns.

In the early days when a competitor was compelled to suspend publication by reason of being starved out, the survivor was usually too happy to make a respectable obituary notice of the event.⁴²

I. R. Crow, in his unpublished diary, has been considered the best source of history of Black Hills newspapers

⁴²D. C. McMurtrie, Early Printing in Wyoming & Black Hills (Hattiesburg, Mississippi: The Book Farm, 1943).

by historians Brown and Willard and newspapermen still living in the Hills, such as Ward Stanley, Herschel Miller, and Dr. F. S. Howe.⁴³

For 26 years, I. R. (Bob) Crow was an active force in Black Hills newspaper circles and his history of newspapering in Lead is largely the result of his own memory and data furnished by relatives of some of the early publishers.⁴⁴

At the start Lead City had the Telegraph, Belt Herald, Lead City Herald, and Lead City Tribune. Covering the period from 1879 to 1896, Tom Webster, Clarence Grandall, W. H. Storms, Mark Scott, and George Hair were publishers of some one of these several papers. Since files are no longer in existence and memories are now dimmed by almost eight decades, this evidence must be accepted such as it is.⁴⁵

The Pioneer and the Times of Deadwood had been truly the pioneer papers, and so it wasn't until 1882 that Dolph Edwards and the two Pinneo brothers started the Tribune in Lead.

This group managed the Tribune, the only Lead paper, until 1889 when a "wild man" broke into the camp at Lead

⁴³Dr. F. S. Howe, interview, October 20, 1960.

⁴⁴Lead Daily Call, August 6, 1926.

⁴⁵Crow, op. cit., p. 68.

and secured a lease on the Tribune. The individual was one Leslie Green, who possessed a fog-horn voice and a vocabulary which, though not extensive, was most expressive. He also was a big man and could make his threats and opinions felt by others. He caused quite a stir in Lawrence County political circles, being a Democrat, which at that time was a dirty name, since politics and newspapers were primarily pro-Republican. This stir was greater than anything to which the readers of the Tribune were accustomed. Green gave predominance in his sheet, which he had leased with Edwards, to editorials and stories from Democratic conventions and meetings throughout the country.⁴⁶

Green, in the opinion of Crow, ". . . was silenced finally with the use of 'long green,' the faithful defender of the new men in those days." Green was hailed into a Miners' court, charged with contracting bad debts, especially in the saloons, and so was run out of town at the point of a "long arm." The Democratic cause in Lead thus went by the wayside.⁴⁷

T. Dolph Edwards was owner of the Tribune for more than 20 years and published it except for brief periods, such as during the Green incident and when one Henry Schmitz

⁴⁶Lead City Tribune, May 23, 1889.

⁴⁷Lead City Tribune, August 10, 1889.

leased the paper for short periods.

At the age of 25 years, the Tribune merged with the Lead Daily Call in 1906. Its last issue was dated November 14, Vol. 24, No. 61.

The Register was moved from Central City to Lead in 1904 by Benfer and A. W. Merrick, who had brought the first printing press into the Hills. After a struggle of seven years, the Register "died from the weight of its worries," May 11, 1911, according to Crow's account.

Lead Daily Call

The Lead Daily Call made its first appearance August 15, 1894, ". . . launched by a veteran newspaperman and fighting journalist, J. W. Jones, who builded better than he knew, for the Call is a living monument to his ability and energy."⁴⁸ Jones' history seems to be veiled in mystery. The only reference found on him in "Who's Who in South Dakota" in Robinson's Encyclopedia of South Dakota offers not one line as to where he came from or where he went when he sold the Lead paper.

The original printing outfit of the Call was stored in a shack across the street from the old First National Bank building on Mill and Main streets, where it did business until 1921, and the equipment was purchased from Merrick

⁴⁸Lead Daily Call, August 22, 1899.

of the Deadwood Pioneer.

In 1899, Jones sold the Call to Archie Potter without fanfare. One day the masthead carried the name of Jones and the next, Potter, without one line of copy on the transfer in the paper for weeks before or after the incident.

Crans and Parker (first names unknown and not in the mastheads) succeeded Potter, January 1, 1901, but April 1 of the same year, they turned the Call over to I. R. Crow and the Call Publishing Company was formed with Martin Chapman, president; Crow, secretary-treasurer; and Dr. J. W. Freeman, P. A. Gushurst, Ernest May, George V. Ayers, J. C. Moody, and M. E. Franklin as other members.⁴⁹

Crow sold his controlling interest in the Call to George Grace October 6, 1906, and Grace published the paper until January 1, 1915. Before taking over the Call, Grace had been operating the Tribune for a year under a lease from T. D. Edwards, who had been appointed American Counsel to Juarez, Mexico.

John A. Stanley purchased the Call January 1, 1915, and operated it for the longest period of time to date. The Call was purchased from Stanley in October, 1945, by the Seaton Publishing Company, the present owners.

⁴⁹Lead Daily Call, 1951.

OTHER NEWSPAPERS OF LAWRENCE COUNTY

The Sunday Register

The Cheyenne Daily Sun of January 17 said: "We are in receipt of the initial number of the Sunday Register, a nice weekly published at Lead City in the Black Hills by Dan Scott. We wish the proprietor success."

The name of Dan Scott suggests that this venture at Lead City may have been a continuation or successor in some way of the Black Hills Champion, with which Scott was connected when that paper was still at Deadwood in August, 1877. But since no other reference to the Sunday Register can be found, it can be concluded that the first Lead City newspaper was not a success and that its first issue may well have been its last.⁵⁰

The Black Hills Tribune

The distinction of being the first newspaper in the Black Hills is accorded to the Black Hills Pioneer, but it achieved that distinction by the narrow margin of just one day. The Black Hills Tribune made its first appearance in Crook City June 9, 1876.

The history of the Tribune is exceedingly vague and sketchy and the first news of the project was found in the

⁵⁰Lead City Tribune, May 18, 1879.

Cheyenne Leader June 22, 1876:

The Black Hills Tribune is published at Crook City and made its first appearance June 9th. Messrs. X. S. Burke & Co. are editors and proprietors. The paper is a 16 column folio and makes up in ability what it lacks in size.

The original Tribune appeared "once only" and the Cheyenne Sun of September 11, 1877, noted:

The Crook City Tribune has passed into the hands of Messrs. Wm. R. Snider and John Stone, who announce that the name of the paper will be changed to the Black Hills Miner, and that the mechanical and typographical work will be improved.

The Cheyenne Leader October 23, 1877, reported that the Miner was to be removed to Deadwood and would be a Democratic daily with H. J. Norton and W. D. Knight as editors. Norton, who had been associate editor of the Lyon County Times at Silver City, Nevada, in 1875, originally was sent to the Hills as a special correspondent of the Virginia City, Nevada, Territorial Enterprise.

The Laramie Daily Sentinel of October 23 reported that: "Harry Norton is a noted rustler from Nevada."

In the Cheyenne Leader of November 27, 1877, a report said: "The Deadwood Miner has suspended publication until a supply of paper arrives." As no further mention of the Miner is to be found in other Black Hills or Wyoming papers, it seems that the suspension was permanent.

Herald

The earliest record of a Custer City paper was found in the Cheyenne Daily Sun January 26, 1877, which said:

"The Herald, a new journalistic candidate for public favor, established at Custer, is prospering, and bids fair to meet with the rewards due its enterprising proprietors."

Trouble brewed between the citizens of Custer City and the Herald. From the files of the Sioux City, Iowa, Journal of March 13, 1877, the report comes:

They have had a newspaper in the town for some times past, but the proprietor, James Bartholomew, boxed his printing materials and machinery and loaded it upon wagons with the intention of removing to Gayville, a mining camp on Deadwood Creek a mile or so from the somewhat later camp named Deadwood City, where he intends to commence the publication of a daily paper. The aforesaid citizens of Custer deliberated among themselves and arrived at the conclusion that Custer couldn't well spare its printing office; that it was needed to advertise the town and mining and other interests there, and so they resolved themselves into a mob and surrounded Bartholomew's wagons, took possession of his property, and prevented his intended removal. Bartholomew telegraphed to the Governor of Dakota to take action in his behalf.

After several other attempts and even the appointment of Bartholomew as Postmaster of Custer, the Cheyenne Leader reports August 29, 1877, that: "The Black Hills Herald, late of Custer City has been removed to Central City."

About six weeks later, the Black Hills Herald was issued as a daily until April 7, 1878, when the Cheyenne Leader files mentioned that:

Messrs. Bartholomew and Burch [who Burch was and from where he appeared no evidence can be gained from files of any papers or historical works] are the editors and proprietors of the recently established Lead City Telegraph.

The Cheyenne Leader reported that its foreman, J. D. Vaughn, had become city editor of the Telegraph in Lead.

Two weeks after this information was noted, an item relating that Vaughn had gone to work as city editor for the Deadwood Pioneer was printed, but inside of two months, in the October 24 issue, Vaughn was again back on the Black Hills Herald-Telegraph.

What happened to the Herald-Telegraph cannot be determined, but as late as June 8, 1881, the name of James S. Bartholomew was quoted in the Cheyenne Sun in connection with a Deadwood paper called the Black Hills Herald-Press.

Black Hills News Letter

Another Deadwood newspaper which appeared in the news items of the Cheyenne Leader of February 8, 1878, is the Black Hills News Letter. The Leader stated:

Mr. Harry J. Norton, editor of the Black Hills News Letter, arrived in Cheyenne from Deadwood. Mr. Norton is the noted rustler, turned journalist from Nevada who had connections with the Black Hills Miner in Crook City.

The last glimpse of the News Letter, as such, came in the Leader August 3, 1878, which tells that "Mr. W. A.

Hendrickson, Esq., of the Black Hills News Letter is now in Cheyenne."

The last reference to this paper in any form which could be found was again in the Leader of November 6, 1878, which reported that: "H. J. Norton, editor and proprietor of the Black Hills News Letter and Mining Reporter, arrived in town."

Where the addition to the original title of "Mining Reporter" came into being, how long it lasted, or what became of it has not been possible to trace even through a thorough perusal of Cheyenne Leader, Deadwood Pioneer, and Times files.

Spearfish

The first paper published in the "Queen City" was the Spearfish Valley Gazette, either in April or May, 1881, J. H. Millett being the publisher and proprietor. John Elliott was the editor.

The publication lasted only about six weeks. Partners Gardner and Johnson had an old printing outfit which they wished to dispose of and so unloaded on Millett and Elliott.

Gardner and Johnson then established the Dakota Weekly Register in Spearfish, with new equipment, the first number appearing June 4, 1881. Captain Gardner was the editor

and "Johnny" Johnson was the publisher. The latter was also postmaster in Spearfish at that time.⁵¹

I. R. Crow appears in connection with the Register. It was he who set all the type for the paper and the forms on the press, usually getting ready for the run about 11 o'clock every Friday night. The editor and publisher took turns from about midnight to daylight running 600 copies on a Washington hand press and getting the papers ready for the stage mails Saturday morning.

At the end of eight months, the Register was turned over to Major Snider and Frank Overman, the latter dropping out after a brief period, being succeeded by Crow July 1, 1883. Crow had come from Deadwood where he had been foreman on the Times for two years.

Joe Henry and Frank Grant had control of the Register from June to November of 1878.⁵²

In August, 1894, E. L. Senn established the Spearfish Enterprise. At one time Joe Todd was at the helm and made a "good paper" of the Enterprise.⁵³

The Queen City Mail was established January 30, 1889, by J. H. and E. H. Warren, father and son. "The Mail," says Crow, "has been one of the neatest and newsiest papers ever

⁵¹Crow, op. cit., p. 72.

⁵²Loc. cit.

⁵³Ibid., p. 73.

published in the Hills."

J. H. Warren, the father, sold the paper to O. D. Tichnor in 1902, and was engaged in the printing business for a year in Spokane but returned to Spearfish and bought back his paper. J. H. died in the early Twenties but his son took over until 1935 when he sold it to Art Nisselius, who managed the paper until 1937, when it was purchased by Mike Heimbaugh and his wife Evelyn, who still publish it as a weekly.

For a number of years the Warrens published the Daily Bulletin, "phating" the matter for their weekly, the Mail.

The first and only daily published in Spearfish was the Spearfish Evening Daily Bulletin. It appeared June 3, 1889, and was established by J. H. and E. H. Warren. The Spearfish Mail, another weekly, was established by the same firm January 29, 1889, and is identical with the format of the Queen City Mail of today. E. H. Warren was a member of the House of the South Dakota Legislature at one time.

The Western Enterprise

Pioneer editors of Wyoming carried almost every possible news item of the establishment and progress of newspapers in the Black Hills but made no attempt to move into the region until 1878, when the publishers of the Daily Evening Gazette decided to go "to the Hills."

The Gazette ceased publication at Cheyenne May 8, 1877, and T. J. Webster, E. A. Slack, M. F. Jones, and C. P.

Walton started for Lead City, D. T., to start a newspaper. J. C. Horton, who had been editor of the Gazette, left for the Hills as did A. R. Johnson, editor of the Sun, who was sent to look after the interests in Deadwood.

The coming of the newspaper to Deadwood was not welcomed and in a column of the Deadwood Times of May 18, 1878, is the report that:

The ghost of the defunct Cheyenne Gazette is now enroute to Lead City. But in view of the fact that good die young, we predict that the town won't be haunted very long. The journalistic genius, Editor Horton, will preside over the local department of the coming apparition.

The Times of May 28 came out with a story which said:

The new daily paper, the material for which is stuck in the mud between the Hills and Cheyenne, is to be issued from Deadwood instead of Lead City. It will be a morning paper, Democratic in politics. The senior proprietor of this new paper, E. A. Slack, is the editor of the Cheyenne Sun, a Republican sheet, and just how he will manage to harmonize the Republicanism of his Cheyenne paper and the Democracy of his Deadwood paper, is a poser to us. He will probably adopt the "good God, good devil policy." Slack is madder than a March hare because the fact of his co-partnership in the new daily paper has become known, having been exposed by the Leader.

It was June 19, 1878, that the Western Enterprise, as the paper was named, made its appearance. One T. J. Hammer, formerly of Cheyenne, purchased A. R. Johnson's interest in the Enterprise, and finally Horton abandoned the newspaper business and returned to Cheyenne. A third member of the group heard of only once and that in the

Cheyenne Sun, George Garrett, left the Black Hills and went into mining.

According to the Leader of January 19, 1879: "T. J. Webster has retired from the Deadwood Enterprise." The March 27, 1879, issue of the Leader informed its readers: "The Western Enterprise of Deadwood has removed from the Black Hills metropolis of Deadwood to Lead City and transformed itself into an evening paper."

No further evidence can be found in files of old papers either in South Dakota or Wyoming of what the final disposition of the newspaper might have been. It never seems to have attained publication in Lead City.

Bear Gulch

In 1893, Estelline Bennett, daughter of G. G. Bennett, who was connected with the Deadwood Pioneer as an editor, published a paper for the active little mining camp of Bear Gulch.

The paper was called the Tinton Times and lasted a period of six months.

Among the advertisers was Mose Lyon, the assayer and mining man, who featured his "hotel" as having "all outside rooms." The building was an "imposing structure" of two rooms built of logs.⁵⁴

⁵⁴Ibid., p. 78.

Galena

The old silver camp of Galena began with hopes of a bright future when Col. J. R. Davey got his stamp mill and smelter running at full blast in 1882-1883, but litigation brought about by the Richmond Company alleging that Davey was encroaching upon its ground, virtually killed the place.

Several unsuccessful attempts were made to revive the activity that prevailed during Davey's regime, even to putting out ". . . a well-edited paper which is known as the Galena Star."⁵⁵

The paper was edited by Estelline Bennett, one of the first newspaper women in this part of the country.⁵⁶ The first issue appeared May 7, 1883, with the last reference found on it being December 31 of the same year.

Terry

Under the shadow of Terry Peak, the town of Terry was one of the big, prosperous mining camps of the Northern Hills. It was here that John Henry Skinner established the Bald Mountain News in February, 1894, making it one of the credible papers of western South Dakota.⁵⁷

⁵⁵Ibid., p. 79.

⁵⁶Estelline Bennett, Old Deadwood Days (New York: Charles Scribner's & Sons, 1935), p. 88.

⁵⁷Crow, loc. cit.

Sol Bunker published the News for a few months during Skinner's ownership. I. R. Crow bought the News from Skinner in August, 1898, and published it until June, 1901, when it was merged with the Record under the name of the Terry News-Record.

The Record had been founded March 4, 1896, by M. A. Wilcox and W. R. Monkman, brothers-in-law.

In February, 1906, Monkman sold the News-Record to E. W. Valentine and John Crow, who published the paper until January 1, 1908.

Ragged Top

The discovery of a large body of ore in the Bald Mountain country in 1895 was occasion for the founding of the Ragged Top Shaft by a Mr. Baumgartner, who published the paper for three years.

The main theme of the paper was the exploitation of the resources of the camp.

Baumgartner closed down and removed the printing outfit to Nebraska about the middle of 1898.⁵⁸

Rochford

Even the village of Rochford had its newspapers, the Black Hills Central and the Rochford Miner.

⁵⁸Ibid.

There is no data available on the Central except one mention of it in the Lead City Tribune of September 9, 1886, which read: ". . . there are rumors of a new paper being started in Rochford, to be called the Central."

The Miner was owned by Larry Connell and made its first appearance in April, 1880. Connell was also the manager of the government telegraph office in Deadwood at the time.

MINING-CAMP NEWSPAPERMEN

From the sketches of the most prominent of the early newspapermen of Lawrence County, it can be seen that these men were just as hardy pioneers as those who trekked across the country to the last frontier in search of their "Eldorado."

However, these men, unarmed with pick and shovel, were saddled with the materials of their trade and knew that their rewards would come only from long, hard hours under almost impossible conditions.

Tents were often their printing quarters; taking sides in the various camp disputes led to trouble and often bodily danger; materials were difficult to buy or replace --all obstacles to their work, which they overcame to help "open up the West."⁵⁹

C. V. Gardner

C. V. Gardner, prominent in mining and newspaper circles, organized the first mining company, the Black Hills Gold in Deadwood.

Gardner had arrived on the first stage which came through from Cheyenne without incident, as a messenger for the Cheyenne Leader.

⁵⁹Brown and Willard, loc. cit.

After stopping in Deadwood for several months, he took 700 pounds of ore from the claim he named the Hidden Treasure to Cheyenne, Wyoming, in July, 1876. Within 24 hours of his arrival there, the Black Hills Gold Company was organized with ten men, each contributing an equal share to outfit the project.

Gardner and T. J. Jones of Cheyenne were commissioned to procure a mill. Against Gardner's better judgment, they took back to the Hills a pulverizing mill instead of a stamp mill.

"Of course," Gardner said in a report to the Leader in 1877, "it was practically a failure, although we took out many thousands of dollars in gold before it was disabled."

The first gold was extracted from quartz, according to Gardner, who at this time was the editor of the Pioneer, by means of an arrastra (a placer mining method) built in Blacktail Gulch by himself and two companions. The ore was taken from the claim, Chief of the Hills, and the first "clean-up" was \$21. Only one run was made from this mine, since many tons of ore extracted after this time failed to show the "pay dirt," which had been anticipated.

When the first "brick" was exhibited in Deadwood, it was the cause for a celebration with mint juleps and Martini cocktails for it was the substance

of things hoped for and the evidence of things yet unseen.⁶⁰

Jean P. Decker

Jean P. Decker for more than a quarter of a century was recognized as one of the leading editorial and news writers of the West. In 1913, he forsook the Fourth Estate and went into the Indian curio business in Billings, Montana.⁶¹

Decker walked from the Missouri River to the Black Hills, where he was one of the best known residents in the early days. For a long time, he was the guard of the treasure box to and from the Homestake mine to Cheyenne. He was, at one time or another, an express messenger, deputy sheriff, miner, Indian fighter, cowboy, and pioneer editor-- "one of those who really paved the path of progress and aided in the early development of the West."⁶²

According to Jess Brown:

In the retirement of Mr. Decker to the more quiet life of a curio merchant, the newspaper profession loses one of its brightest stars--whose brilliancy dazzled veteran writers and charmed his auditors for years, one of the brightest editorial writers of the treasure state.

His first experience in the newspaper business was gained in Deadwood on the Times. In later years, up to

⁶⁰ Lead City Tribune, June 8, 1882.

⁶¹ Brown and Willard, loc. cit.

⁶² Ibid.

1912, he traveled extensively and continued to send back features and editorials for the Deadwood Pioneer-Times.

Richard B. Hughes

When "Wild Bill" Hickok was assassinated in Deadwood, August 2, 1876, and Judge Kuykendall's famous rump court was convened the following day to try the assassin, a young newspaper reporter--the first reported in the Black Hills--sat on a log near by and made a complete report of the affair for the Black Hills Weekly Pioneer. He was Richard B. Hughes. His detailed account of the trial of Jack McCall, the murderer, is considered the only authentic history of what happened that day.⁶³

The story of how Hughes became connected with the Pioneer is related in the Black Hills Trails:

"One hot evening, August 1, 1876," says Captain C. V. Gardner, then editor and co-publisher of the Pioneer, "I was busy turning off copy for the Pioneer. One of my two compositors was off on a 'jam-boree,' and my partner, Merrick, was out bucking the only weakness he had, 'Faro.' I was wondering how I could get the paper out on time, when in came a young man dressed in overalls and introduced himself by saying, 'My name is Dick Hughes. Do you want a compositor?' I said, 'Yes, if you know your business.' He said, 'Try me.' I did and he knew his business."

Somerset County, Pennsylvania, was his birthplace, and the date was April 14, 1856. His parents moved to

⁶³O. W. Coursey, Beautiful Black Hills (Mitchell, South Dakota: Educator School Supply, 1926).

Cumberland, Maryland, in the spring of 1860, moving thence to Illinois. In the spring of 1867, the family continued westward to Nebraska, settling at West Point, in the Elkhorn valley. Between that time and the spring of 1876, Hughes attended school for two years in Chicago and served an apprenticeship at the printer's trade on the West Point Republican.⁶⁴

In April of '76, he, with M. D. Rochford and William Van Fleet, came west of Sidney and joined a party of ten men with three wagons from Kansas, bound for the Black Hills. This party became a part of a large wagon train, but left it a short distance from the Red Cloud Agency when the man who had been elected "captain," decided to wait for reinforcements before proceeding farther.

A party of 13 pushed on to the Hills, reaching Custer May 8, and Deadwood Gulch May 12. From that time until December 1880, Hughes alternated prospecting with working on various Deadwood papers, as he himself says, "The former from choice, the latter from necessity."⁶⁵

He was considered most talented and with a gifted pen beyond the talents of any ordinary reporter, so he immediately attracted attention and his writing is credited

⁶⁴Ibid.

⁶⁵Tallent, loc. cit.

with the large subscription rolls to the paper which sold for 25¢ per copy.⁶⁶

In December, 1880, after working four years in Deadwood Gulch, he became the editor of the Rapid City Journal, then a weekly. Later, when the paper became a daily, he remained as its editor until the fall of 1889.⁶⁷

Jack Langrishe

Jack Langrishe's theatre was one of the well-known institutions of early Deadwood. Langrishe himself was well-known in every mining camp of the West of sufficient importance to boast a playhouse. He was one of the most versatile of men, say reviews in the Deadwood Times.⁶⁸

A printer by trade and a good one, he usually set up all of his own advertising matter, posters, etc., at the Pioneer office. As a writer he had a quick wit and a ready pen. His generosity was unbounded and no old-time stranded actor could call upon him in vain. He brought with him to Deadwood, or assembled soon after coming, a company of outstanding talent of the juvenile West.⁶⁹

⁶⁶Ibid.

⁶⁷Rapid City Journal, December 10, 1891.

⁶⁸Lead Daily Call, August 22, 1889.

⁶⁹Pioneer-Times, May 23, 1953.

It is as a writer, however, that Langrishe will longest be remembered. He had a way of dashing off rhyming narrative of current events, that made interesting reading, and during the winter of 1876 he contributed much to the columns of the Pioneer and even for a year or two, until he left the Hills, worked for that paper. He immortalized all important events of the miners and went out "into the field" to find and report events in rhyme.⁷⁰

When the notoriously bad Indian, Crazy Horse, was killed on the reservation by Lane Deer, Langrishe wrote the historically correct account on the spot for the Pioneer of the affray in the following brief epitaph:

The happy ground are found at last
And Crazy Horse's days are past.
On earth he struck a poor Lane Deer
Who sent him to another sphere.

A complete story of the fracas came in for later publication.⁷¹

Willis H. Bonham

The massacre of General Custer and his heroic soldiers by the Indians on the Little Big Horn north of the Black Hills in 1876 did not deter immigration to that region, in fact, it helped to stimulate it by advertising the place. The moment it was learned that gold had been discovered in the Hills, people began to flock to the territory

⁷⁰Pioneer-Times, June 21, 1953.

⁷¹Pioneer-Times, August 6, 1926.

by the thousands from every direction, regardless of the Indians or hardships to be encountered.⁷²

There people had to be fed, clothed, and sheltered. Freighters with teams of all descriptions and pack trains were called into service. One of these men, the proprietor of the old Black Hills Outfitters store of Cheyenne, Wyoming, traded his homestead for 130 Mexican burros preparatory to taking up this work. These burros were heavily loaded with supplies for the miners and started for the Hills in 1877.⁷³

A young painter and paper hanger, who had drifted over from Denver and who had been working in the Old Outfitters store during the winter, was selected and placed in charge of the outfit. He was strong, cool-headed, and adventuresome, just the kind of a man needed to make the initial trip.⁷⁴ He got his outfit through without the loss of a burro or pack. He made the trip in 18 days, and July 17, 1877, this young adventurer, Willis H. Bonham, later editor and proprietor of the Pioneer-Times, landed in Deadwood, Dakota Territory, where he made his home until his death in 1927.⁷⁵

⁷²Brown and Willard, loc. cit.

⁷³Cheyenne Leader

⁷⁴Tallent, loc. cit.

⁷⁵Pioneer-Times, June 21, 1951.

When he arrived, he found Deadwood a city of 15,000 persons living in log houses, tents, dugouts, everywhere, anywhere, spread out over the hills in all directions.

Wild Bill Hickek had been slain, but Calamity Jane; Tende Brown, the gambler; Doc Boggs, the confidence man who operated a lottery; Dirty Shirt Brown, who never washed his clothes; Socks, a street fakir; Shirt Collar Jewett, who wore a very large collar and operated a restaurant; and old Jim Levy, the gunman who had slain a number of people, were all in evidence.⁷⁶

Bonham was a quiet man who served the people of Deadwood with what Jesse Brown, the historian terms, "a spicy, well-balanced newspaper built up through his own industry from humble origin to one of the leading dailies of the state."⁷⁷

A warm, generous, friendly man, he expended a great deal of his income on charity. He invested in gold mines, often, friends said, because the promoter needed help. He put much of his money back into Deadwood real estate and was a director and stockholder of the Franklin Hotel Company, the Black Hills Trust and Savings, and the First National Banks. He belonged to several clubs and lodges and

⁷⁶Howe, loc. cit.

⁷⁷Brown and Willard, loc. cit.

was postmaster for one term.

Born on a farm in Illinois, he went to Denver where he learned interior decorating. He came to Deadwood in 1877 and engaged in sign painting a year before joining the Pioneer staff.

He got his first taste of politics in Denver and the Republicans sent him to visit every lodge of the Grand Lodge of Good Templars in the state. From Denver he went to Cheyenne before coming to Deadwood.

In 1883, he purchased the Pioneer, and during the first three years working there, he learned the printing trade. In 1897, he acquired the Times and consolidated it with the Pioneer under the name of the Deadwood Pioneer-Times.⁷⁸

Brown, in Black Hills Trails, goes on to say, "Under his direction the paper became a power in politics, as well as social life, in the Black Hills and especially in Lawrence County."

In the early days, Bonham was active in community affairs. He organized the South Deadwood Hose Company, helped organize the city's fire department, and was its chief engineer. He also served as city clerk of Deadwood for six years under three different mayors. Governor Mellette appointed him a trustee of the State School of Mines

⁷⁸Pioneer-Times, June 21, 1951.

in Rapid City, under the old law, and President Theodore Roosevelt appointed him Postmaster of Deadwood.⁷⁹

E. L. Senn

A publishing firm organized by E. L. Senn at one time or another operated as many as 35 different newspapers in Deadwood and the immediate vicinity at the same time. Most of them served as "proof sheets" for the series of claim notices needed to cinch the titles on homesteads.

Senn, during his life time, owned 110 such papers. When the last proof notices were printed in the locality, Senn moved his equipment to a newer community.⁸⁰

In later years, the papers which survived provided the communities with both local and national news and also an outlet for literary expression on the part of gifted editors.

Senn, sometimes called "the Dakota Territory Newspaperman," taught school from 1883 to 1900 in Brule County and Charles Mix County. He began his work as a newspaperman in 1901. He worked for this paper until he became the editor of the Deadwood Daily Telegram in 1909, and in 1917 he took over the editorship of the Whitewood Plaindealer

⁷⁹Howe, loc. cit.

⁸⁰Mrs. Rogers Clark, interview, June 10, 1959.

while the owner, George Johnson, was serving in World War I.⁸¹

Herschel Miller

Interesting sidelights of the Lead Daily Call and the Deadwood Pioneer-Times are furnished by Herschel Miller, who for five decades has been in contact with the two papers.

The day after Labor Day, 1912, Miller went to work for the Lead Daily Call, whose editor at that time was George Grace. Miller had met Grace while working on the Hot Springs Star. Grace had taken over the Call in 1908. During the four troublesome years from '08 to '12, when Miller came to Lead, the city was torn into two factions due to the Homestake trouble with Union organizers. Grace had had a harried life since the Call was strictly a Homestake organ. At the height of the trouble, Grace went to Hot Springs for a rest and went into the Hot Springs Star office to see Miller. He was positive that he was being followed by his Union enemies in Lead and asked Herschel for a gun with which to defend himself, which Miller gave him. The gun was never brought into action, but on several occasions Grace produced the weapon to scare off would-be

⁸¹George F. Johnson, interview, June 10, 1959.

destroyers of his presses which were never proved Union leaders, but which Grace always swore were.

Grace was an interesting man. He never really realized his potentialities in the newspaper field, as his life, work, and writings were always overshadowed by his domineering wife, Belle, who actually was the editorial writer.

After Grace and his spouse finished fighting the battles of Homestake and the Union, the lady always found others with whom to carry on a feud, something which never ceased. She moved from one good fight to another whether it dealt with the paving of Main Street or seeking legislation which made keeping cows in town an infraction of ordinance, says Miller.

Grace sold the paper to John Stanley in 1915, who at the time also owned the Hot Springs Star for which Miller had worked.

Advertising, the life line of any paper, was also the mainstay of the Lead Daily Call. There was no soliciting for ads, this being the general practice in those days. Merchants brought in what they thought would make good copy for their particular wares, and these ads were run sometimes for years, as in the case of McDonald's Flower Shop and Saddlery, which ran the same ad for forty years without change. However, when other papers started sending out ad men, Stanley refused to do so. No ads were ever collected for the Lead Daily Call until after his son Ward

Stanley took over the paper in 1926, or for the Pioneer-Times until Leland and Earl Morford took the reins in 1927.

The price of the Lead Daily Call in 1912 was 15¢ a week, and Miller received \$20 for a 48-hour weekly salary. The Call has been the same size throughout its life. One of the specialities of the Call, as was the habit of many newspapers of that time, was printing patent inside sheets for a number of neighboring weeklies, who would run the two outside pages. The Call saved all the general news items and ran them on the inside sheets, which contained no local Lead news. This custom was quite common for many years in the news business.

Early in 1900, the Call secured a linotype, but prior to that time everything was hand set. Working with sticks one column wide, one compositor could set on an average, three galleys a day. This partially explains the existence of so many weeklies since compositors were difficult to find in the new territory. The dailies hired as many compositors as were needed to get out the work. A great deal of boiler plate material was used which was sent in daily, but which dealt with happenings weeks before.

In 1912, the Call started using Western Union services to secure the up-to-the-minute news. This was used until 1927 when telephoned reports from the Associated Press in Rapid City were received twice daily. When the Seaton

Publishing Company bought the paper, the United Press wire service was leased.

Engravings were rare since there were no facilities at that time for them. Any pictures which were used, on extremely rare occasions, came with the boiler plate material. Local pictures, of which three were found from 1900 through 1919 in the Lead Daily Call files, were special ordered and appeared weeks after the story had occurred.

In 1923, one-insert ads cost the customer 40¢ an inch, and those running for weeks at a time were 25¢ an inch, regardless of size.

When Miller was questioned about the limited equipment of those days he replied,

Equipment was ample for those days, and we didn't consider them or call them obstacles. They would be today, but then, we just didn't know any better.

Deadlines and press time? That was a problem. We had no definite deadlines, but between 3 and 4 p.m. the paper would be ready to go to press. However, on grocery day we didn't get to press until 8 or 9 p.m.

Grocery day was after 1920, when the stores started running ads the day before Homestake pay day. About this time circulation was 1500, and getting the papers delivered late at night was quite a chore for the newsboys, especially during the winter.

The job shop of the Lead Call in 1912 handled only staple items such as stationery, statements, and all

business forms for the Homestake. They handled mine claim forms, stock sheets, and legal blanks. Letter-head envelopes then were \$4 per thousand compared with \$6 per thousand now for the unprinted envelopes. Miller adds,

There was no promotional or tourist stuff in those days. Now nine-tenths of our business is promotional.

The Register was the Socialist paper of Lead which supported the Union, and George Kingsbury was running the Enterprise, which was "on the fence," but added fuel to both fires.

Miller knew E. L. Senn who at this time was also the owner of the Keystone Recorder.

Senn tried to clean up Deadwood and during the Homestake trouble and his subsequent attempts to throw out vice from the city, he ended up on the bad end of more than one beating.

Miller, in talking about the early days of newspapering 50 years ago, told how printers arrived in the pre-dawn hours to make fires so that their rather shabby headquarters could be warmed up in order to work. The type had to be heated before they could use it, and much time was wasted trying to get the grease of the hand presses, etc., warmed up to do the job.

Mr. Miller retired from full-time work about five years ago, but is still working off and on at the Seaton Publishing Company job plant in Deadwood.⁸²

⁸²Lead Daily Call, August, 1961.

John Stanley

The story of John Stanley, pioneer newspaperman of Dakota Territory, was told by his son Ward in an interview June 15, 1962.

John A. Stanley came to Dakota Territory in 1879 at the age of 17. After two years spent on his parents' homestead near Hot Springs, he went to Watertown to learn the printing trade and newspaper business on the Dakota News, edited by S. J. Conklin, the paper which later became the Gary Inter-State. The old Washington press used there by "Old Conk" and Stanley is in the State museum in Pierre today.

In 1886, he moved to a stage station near the present site of Hermosa, called Battle Creek, and started the first paper there, the Pilot, January 1, 1886. He ran the weekly on an old Washington press.

He traded the Pilot to John Andrews March 25, 1892, for the Hot Springs Star and ran that until 1908, when he sold out and bought the Times-Herald there. He sold the Herald in 1915, when he bought the Lead Daily Call from George Grace.

Speaking of Grace, Stanley went on to say,

Grace's wife Belle was the orneriest woman I ever did see. She was always fighting with someone and certainly didn't know what public relations

meant. Most of the time she was right though.

For 17 years John Stanley was the Postmaster of Hot Springs. One of the reasons John came from the Watertown paper to Battle Creek, sometimes called Battle River, was that interests from England had set up mining operations in that region which they believed would make the area the tin mining center of the world. The mines did not prove as fruitful as first believed, but it was the incentive which gave birth to the Pilot.

Ward Stanley

Ward Stanley, in an interview June 15, 1962, gave many interesting sidelights of his life as a journalist.

Ward, son of early-day newspaperman John A. Stanley, first entered the field as a "relief man." His father had purchased the Lead Daily Call in 1915, and by the early Twenties, his mother had contracted arthritis. John wanted to take his wife to California in the hope she would get better, and by this time, had had quite enough of the rough life of a pioneer newsman. So in 1926, he sent for son Ward to come to Lead, "for a little while," to take care of affairs there.

Ward had been a rancher for his father on the big, sprawling ranch near Hot Springs, and the news business offered him little or no interest, except that he would help

out where needed. From the fall of '26 to August, 1945, when he sold the Call to the Seaton Publishing Company, Ward commuted between the Hot Springs ranch and his paper weekly. By force, he became a good newspaper-businessman.⁸³

In 1931, when it became apparent that the elder Stanley would not come back from California to take over his paper, the ranch, paper--all Stanley holdings were incorporated into one company. Ward retired to his ranch outside of the Springs and today is the owner of the Midwest Mill in Hot Springs where he and Mrs. Stanley keep busy.

I never cared a great deal about newspaper work, but in time I got interested in spite of myself. As a boy, it had no glamour for me or interest. I liked, and still do like, ranching.

My father liked the editorial end of the work, but I enjoyed the mechanical work and the back shop.

Another name which Ward Stanley remembered was George Walters, who worked for his father and then bought the paper at Edgemont. Chet Martin, who also came from Hot Springs, worked for the Stanleys in the '20's. Stanley also remembered Jim Smith, who bought out the Belle Fourche Bee, and John Heffron, the notorious criminal lawyer of Deadwood. "Heffron was known for his flowery speeches in court which, coupled with tears, temper tantrums, haranguing, etc., won many a 'not guilty' for clients 'guilty as h---.' " He

⁸³Herschel Miller, interview, June 14, 1962.

started out as a reporter on the Pioneer-Times, before entering law school. His editorials, features, and even news stories smacked of the same characteristics later used in court, and were avidly read by the subscribers.

In 1914, John Stanley bought the Register from E. L. Senn and the same year bought the Enterprise and Tribune from T. L. Edwards.⁸⁴

P. Hicks Cadle

P. Hicks Cadle is one of the younger men who qualifies for mention with the pioneer newspapermen of the times.

After taking work at Northwestern University in journalism, Cadle came to the Black Hills and became business manager of the Deadwood Telegram and later of the Rapid City Journal. For 20 years he was noted as an outstanding political news writer; specialist in political editorials and a feature writer for metropolitan papers. He also is the author of "The True American's Creed," which has been adopted by several institutions as the creed of Americanism.⁸⁵

Frank Thomson

In an interview with Frank Thomson, a Spearfish pioneer, names of other newspaper people who came and went

⁸⁴Pioneer-Times, August 18, 1915.

⁸⁵Fox, loc. cit.

on the Black Hills scene were mentioned.

In Hill City around 1895, a man by the name of Van Worman started a newspaper and according to Thomson,

He ran a newspaper in a dingy, one-room office for a long time. He was a short Dutchman, rather heavy and quite a solid fixture in Hill City for a long time. Barely made a living at it.

When he passed over, Don Hare, the older brother of Dr. Lyle Hare of Spearfish, took over the paper. Dr. Hare's father and his older sister Allie ran a newspaper in Keystone for a number of years.

CONTENTS OF THE MINING CAMP NEWSPAPERS

Excerpts from some of the newspapers display the extent to which the papers took sides on various issues.

The papers of those days took stands on disputes, including political conflicts, much more vociferously than is typical today.

From an account written in 1877 by L. F. Whitbeck, who was a roving reporter for the Sidney Telegraph, we find this excerpt taken from the Lead City Tribune.

The Times is the organ of the people; the Pioneer is "on the fence;" the Herald is democratic, \$150 worth; while the Miner removed from Crook City to this city is issued daily as a red hot campaign "Muldoon," Times' phrase for the democrats--the first number appearing today.⁸⁶

Willis H. Bonham of the Deadwood Pioneer-Times, recorded all of the interesting legal struggles that took place before the bar of Lawrence County. He was a sort of court reporter for the courts, hired to keep a minute record of proceedings, and so the accounts of the battles were printed in rather extensive detail in the press.⁸⁷

The toughest struggle which involved all the citizens of Lead and affected the lives of those in Lawrence County as well as the entire state was the Homestake

⁸⁶Lead City Tribune, May 7, 1877.

⁸⁷Lead Daily Call, June 10, 1926.

lockout in 1909, which lasted until the first men were again sent down into the mine, January 13, 1910.⁸⁸

While the basic struggle in the lockout was between the Homestake Mining Company and the Western Federation of Miners, the newspapers took sides early and fought to the end.

The Union claimed that the press was in the pay of the Homestake. It is true that the Lead Daily Call was extremely pro-Company and earnestly reflected the Homestake's views on all occasions. The editor, George Grace, and his wife Belle were conservative Republicans; the radicals and socialists in the WFM ranks horrified them. However, Belle Grace, the true "power behind the throne," struck out with such violence in her daily anti-union editorials, which were accredited to the pen of her long-suffering husband, that Grace hired an armed guard to protect him. Mrs. Grace spared no one with her vitriolic style and got down to personalities and names in her condemnation of everything connected with the movement.⁸⁹

The Union also had considerable press support. The Black Hills Daily Register, edited by W. C. Benfer, a former

⁸⁸Lead Daily Call, December 9, 1909.

⁸⁹J. H. Cash, "The Homestake Lockout" (unpublished paper in history, University of South Dakota, 1960).

WFM official, called itself a radical newspaper and supported both unionism and socialism.

However, the paper which was most obvious in unmitigated support of the Union was the fiery sheet of Freeman Knowles, editor and publisher of the Lantern, which was published in Deadwood. His editorials in favor of the Union and against Homestake, the personnel of the Company, and their policies, can be seen in the files of the newspaper today. He minced no words if he felt the occasion called for candor.⁹⁰

Knowles, who was also a lawyer, was in and out of jail on numerous occasions. In August, 1909, he was jailed for failing to pay a \$500 fine imposed for a breach of postal laws. He had given his views on sex and marital relations in the Lantern.⁹¹ Mrs. Grace pointed out, with apparent glee, that of such men was Union officialdom composed.⁹²

Knowles was released from confinement when friends paid his fine and then threw himself into the Homestake trouble with such delight and abandon that by February, 1910, he was appealing again to friends for funds with

⁹⁰The Lantern, August 12, 1909.

⁹¹The Lantern, February 10, 1910.

⁹²The Lantern, June 3, 1910.

which to defend himself in three law suits. In these he was charged with using unprintable language in his newspaper and with libel. However, the long hours, terrific tension, terms in jail, and loss of confidence of fine-paying friends all seem to have caught up with the publisher. He died June 1, 1910, in Deadwood.⁹³

The remaining papers in Deadwood and surrounding towns were largely pro-Homestake, but their attitudes were more detached, and the news was reported objectively.

From the June 26, 1878, edition of the Pioneer, comes the story of the first libel suit. This is the first and last notice of the litigation.

First libel suit:

The first libel suit in the Black Hills was commenced today before Justice Barker, on the complaint of one R. O. Adams against Porter Warner and W. R. Snider of the Deadwood Times. As we have not at this writing seen the complaint, we shall have to defer the particulars of this suit until another time. We opine that before its conclusion it will afford some interesting reading.

Another item from the same issue:

Alex Southerland is a character. He led the first brass band here; played for the first funeral of a white man; and at the first public entertainment; and Sunday last played for the first Chinese funeral in the Hills. He is also the only surviving member of the band which played at the Battle of Balkalava during the charge of the Light Brigade.

⁹³The Lantern, June 3, 1910.

The editors went to great lengths to call each other liars in a nice way. In the files of the Times this long article appeared October 20, 1886:

A statement in the Pioneer of this morning needs investigation. It is well understood that the freight line of Messrs. Pratt & Ferris is doing a fine business, but that they have half a million tons en route is startling. This is a story that will sound all the bigger for being cut up in sections. Let us see, four tons for ten yoke of cattle and two wagons is a good load. At this rate 50,000 tons would require 125,000 teams, 250,000 wagons, 2,500,000 cattle and 125,000 drivers, quite an army corps. Now, how would they look on the road? Calling the distance 300 miles and allowing 250 feet to each team, or 20 to the mile, there would be 6,000 teams in a column and 21 columns. Just think of this awful force of bulls and bull-whackers advancing upon us, 21 columns abreast, "slow as a glacier but sure as fate." Probably Dick told the reporter 500,000 pounds, but that would be too cheap a story for a paper like the Pioneer that makes "bullion rackets" a part of its business.

From the files of the Deadwood Pioneer, December 23, 1880:

Much difficulty has recently been experienced at Sturgis by the owner of the dance hall to get girls to come to that town, by reason of the absence of an opium house. Latterly two girls who had been employed to go there from this city, returned late at night on foot, having stayed less than one hour in that delectable town, after finding that they could not enjoy their customary smoke. Now all difficulty is removed, the owner of the dance house having persuaded an almond-eyed Celestial to embark in that business there. The girls are happy and the dance goes on.

A mixup in the first names of two men resulted in April, 1892, in the wrong man being named postmaster of Lead, as it is reported in the April 23 issue of the Lead City Tribune.

T. D. Edwards, long-time owner and publisher of the Lead City Tribune, had been endorsed and slated for the position of postmaster of Lead, but the commission was finally issued to Dolph Edwards, who published the Tribune in 1882-1883.

The matter of the appointment of Edwards had been dragging in the Post Office Department at Washington. One day, during a lull, a clerk in the Washington office remarked they might as well dispose of the appointment "out in Dakota" and asked what Edwards' name was. Another clerk said he didn't know but he had heard someone speak of "Dolph" so the commission was issued to Dolph Edwards instead of T. D., for whom it was intended by his political backers.

Both Edwards are surprised of the outcome.

The following items were taken from a column headed "Dakota News" in the Lead City Tribune, January 26, 1887.

Bismarck wants electric lights.

Parker wants a tobaggan slide.

Canton claims a population of 2,000.

Rapid City will amend its city charter.

District court adjourned at Deadwood January 7.

Rapid City has marketed \$40,000 park bonds in New York.

The Deadwood fire department wants a louder-sounding bell.

Moody county averages two head of cattle for each inhabitant.

Sioux Falls is figuring on the possibilities of a new paper mill.

There is talk of reviving the Mercer County Immigration society.

Great interest is being taken in the Ruby district, Black Hills, of late.

The city council of Bismarck has been called on to fix the hack rates of that city.

Belle Fourche, the snow is a foot deep, and the cattle and other stock are suffering greatly.

The salary of the attorney of Minnehaha county has been cut from \$1200 to \$700.

The Western Union Telegraph Company has placed instruments in the Bismarck capitol building.

Items from the Deadwood Times:

There is only one man out of three who registers his proper name at the state offices upon purchasing an outward bound ticket. This peculiarity is explained upon the hypothesis that the inhabitants have become so accustomed to steal out on stampedes to some newly discovered district that clandestine movements have become sort of second nature to them. It is the same in every camp. If anybody can originate a more charitable excuse for the custom, we'll pay a premium to know it. (April 16, 1879.)

Undertaker S. R. Smith has had a long tedious seige in thawing out the man who was frozen at Sturgis sufficiently enough to bury him. (January 10, 1879.)

The report of the rich strike in Potato Gulch was circulated on our streets early last evening, and we were surprised this morning that the eagle-eyed journalists of the Pioneer failed to get hold of it. They were probably absorbed in writing "Pioneer See-Saw" for Sunday's issue of that organ. (February 15, 1879.)

The Deadwood Pioneer of May 28, 1878, printed the "Legend of the Rose," the first time it was published. It was written by John M. Whitten, City Auditor of Deadwood, into whose hands the original manuscript had fallen by accident. He discovered the paper in a box of old magazines which were to be burned and rescued the treasured work. It

now is in the Adams Museum in Deadwood.

It is the story of how the many wild roses which bloom profusely in Lawrence County came to be there.

No copy of the Pioneer containing the "Legend" now exists as the files were burned in the fire which destroyed Deadwood in 1879.⁹⁴

In the files of the Deadwood Times of June 6, 1878, the story of how Pactola got its name was printed.

When General Crook was returning from his Yellowstone expedition in 1876, he camped for a short time where the town of Pactola stood before the dam was built in 1957. All mail was addressed to Camp Crook, D. T., as the miners had named the town for the General.

The miners, however, decided that they wanted a post-office and petitioned for it.

Judge Maguire, formerly a newspaper man and lawyer, who had given up the more peaceful professions of editor and the law to try his luck with pick and gold pan, suggested Pactola, which meant nothing to the miners.

"Pack" meant hardships to the miners and they almost threw it out until Judge Maguire explained the story of King Midas and the Pactolus river, which literally meant the river of golden sands.

⁹⁴Lead Daily Call, June 21, 1951.

It was accepted, and today Pactola Dam is referred to, in the Lead Daily Call at its dedication, as the river of golden sands for its recreational opportunities, fishing, and irrigation.

The most destructive fire that had ever occurred in the Territory of Dakota destroyed the greater and all of the most valuable portion of the new city of Deadwood, the commercial capital of the Black Hills mining region, on the morning of September 26, 1879.

All newspaper offices, community and Masonic halls, and all business houses were leveled. The fire consumed everything, but in 24 hours, tents were borrowed from Fort Meade, Lead City restaurants were serving food in Deadwood, and the Deadwood Times managed to issue a small paper September 28, two days after the fire. The paper contains this sentence: "The old saying that it is an ill wind that blows nobody good, can with reason be applied with much force to our case." It goes on to tell the story of the conflagration, the loss of property and personal belongings. Nothing was left but "character and credit is all they have left and the only remaining capital upon which to commence anew."

Among the wry incidents which were related in future issues from the tent (before a new building was constructed) was the story of a printer in the Times office who put down

a hundred dollar's worth of type and grabbed two bottles of Hosteter's Bitters which he carried to safety.

Some of the advertisements which appeared in the Times September 30, four days after the fire:

J. Harry Damon, the boss rustler of Elizabethtown, has on hand a large stock of goods, also a fine collection of liquors and cigars, a large bakery in connection where can be obtained bread, cake, and pies at the Same Old Prices. R. D. Kelley is selling flour and bacon at the same old prices.

The ads were unboxed and written in essay form, the outstanding theme of each being that in the face of extreme necessity and scarcity, no prices were advanced--only unlimited credit given. The entire article was reprinted in the Deadwood Times, May 10, 1897.

In the July 1, 1886, issue of the Black Hills Daily Times were several typical news items:

The labor question has, it is said, prevented a great many improvements. The eight-hour movement proved a most damaging experiment to the building industry of Chicago, where it found more general and active support from working men than was given it in any other city of the country. Two months ago a great deal of building that was projected had to be abandoned in consequence of the demands of labor, which placed the cost largely above the figures that the projectors were willing to pay. The effect was to seriously cripple the building industry and leave thousands of laborers and workmen in idleness.

There is much well founded disgust felt in Massachusetts over the meanness of the legislature, which, after sitting for six months doing nothing, has voted each member \$150 for "extra services." The most diligent research fails to discover any "extra" work done by these gentlemen, but they pocket the extra money all the same.

Railroad Jubilee
Deadwood, the Metropolis,
Preparing to Participate
In Royal Manner

Who, What, How, and When
We Will All Be There

Few events have aroused the interest and will allure the multitude, equal to the approaching celebration at Rapid upon the completion of the railroad that far on its way to the Hills. Everybody with the day at his disposal is preparing to join in the festivities, and if localities less remote contribute proportionately as well, it may truly be said that the people of the Hills have assembled en masse.

The South Deadwood Hose Company will go down; the Pioneer Hook and Ladder Company; Lead City Hose Company.

Mayor Star and a majority of officials of the metropolis, as well as a large representation from the Deadwood Board of Trade, and scores of citizens are preparing to attend.

They may have been rivals in business, but the Lead City Daily Tribune, then under lease to Henry Schmitz from T. D. Edwards, printed the following glowing editorialized report on his competitor, I. A. Webb, editor of the Deadwood Independent. Not all of the reports on competitors were this complimentary:

I. A. Webb, the editor of the Deadwood Independent, is now working on an edition which will be published by a financial journal in Chicago, known as "Bonds and Mortgages." This work will include an accurate summary of the mining interests throughout the mineral belt of the Hills, and it is his purpose to have all this data prepared so that it will appear on the 15th of July for circulation. The mere fact that Mr. Webb has undertaken the enterprise is a

sufficient guarantee that it will be a far-reaching value to the mining industry, and he should receive the earnest support of every man who is directly or indirectly interested in the upbuilding of industrial mining. Mr. Webb's contribution can be looked upon as far greater value than any publication advertising the Black Hills and especially, the mining interest, ever presented. Webb is a capable editor and knows what he's talking about. All Easterners will no doubt listen to him.

From the June 30, 1899, Lead City Tribune comes this story:

Vienna--An extraordinary balloon accident occurred at Graz. An Italian aeronaut named Merighi ascended considerably over 10,000 feet, when the balloon suddenly swelled to an enormous size, burst with a crash and fell, the tattered material forming a species of parachute. About 40 feet from the ground Merighi jumped. He was picked up alive, but unconscious with a broken leg.

The editors of this paper congratulate the Italians of Lead City that one of their countrymen has made such a spectacular and glorious experiment into space.

I. R. Crow in his diary, tells of an experience of editor Moody which helps to substantiate the belief that a newsman's life had its dangers.

One Bill Gay called on Charley Moody in 1880 or 1881, and asked Charley to retract some statement he had made through the columns of the Daily News, of which Moody was the editor. Every old timer will remember that Moody was afflicted with an impediment in his speech when he got excited. So when Gay dropped in with a .45 in hand, the editor began stammering. Gay said to Charley, addressing him in profane language, "If you can't talk, sing." That was the only shot fired, but Charles pacified Gay with some sort of an apology, pronto.

Gay had shot and killed a young man in Central City, whose name was Forbes, the alleged trouble being over a woman. Gay was caught, tried, and sent

to prison but was pardoned in one year. He continued on his desperate way, killing a miner in Montana, and it was on his return to the Hills that he gave Moody his scare. Gay finally died on the scaffold in 1896, in California, for murder.

Editorializing seems to have been an accepted form of newswriting in those days, as is illustrated by reports about the local theatre. The theatre was not only the scene of plays and road shows, but also of a variety of other social activities. Here is where citizens staged funerals, miners' court meetings, and Sunday sermons by traveling ministers.

Sometimes rehearsal for a show would conflict with a scheduled event, such as the time the murderer of J. C. Tuttle was tried when the Variety Theatre cast was practicing in the Bella Union Theatre in 1877. The Black Hills Daily Times of July 24, 1877, says:

The audience at the trial this afternoon was treated to a free variety show, the new company holding the rehearsal in the front section of the rooms while the trial progressed in the theatre proper.

The Langrishe Theatre, the first one established in Deadwood shortly after the city was laid out, was turned over to the ministers each Sunday for sermons on idleness, intemperance, and licentiousness.

The early-day theatres were advertised with glowing prose like this which appeared in the Black Hills Daily

Times, September 5, 1877: "Tom Miller and Woods will reopen the Bella Union Theatre with a new company, new acts, new songs, and everything novel, funny, rich, rare, and racy."

The newspaper took interest in the activities of the theatres, commenting in detail on each play as it opened or making a complete report on concerts and other cultural activities.

A typical review printed by the Black Hills Daily Times, January 10, 1878, said:

The Langrishe Theatre was comfortably filled last evening with an appreciative and eager audience to witness "Dumb Boy of the Pyrenees" and the farce, "Poor Phillicody." Mrs. Langrishe, in the character of Myrtillo, the dumb boy, made a decided hit and from the spirit in which she played convinced everyone that it was her favorite part. Miss Augusta Chambers, in her pleasing rendition of Rosara, took the house by storm and was frequently applauded. Mr. Martin's Col. Rigolio was a very fine piece of acting, especially in the last scene. The rest of the Company acquitted themselves with much credit.

The farce of "Poor Phillicody" was immense. Mr. and Mrs. Langrishe sustained their well-earned reputation.

A review printed the next day about "The French Spy" said:

It is useless to go into details upon the merits of this piece for it is one of those things like cider, the older it gets, the better.

SUMMARY

In summary, this study is concerned with the history of the once Indian-infested country of the Black Hills, which was invaded by the Whites with the lure of gold, and how it was recorded on a day-to-day basis by the early-day newspapers, which followed the gold seekers into the territory.

The study brings out the fact that news, as such, was not the prime reason that the newsmen came to these wilds, but rather that legal printing required under the Homestead law to file final-proof notices on the miners' claims, and contest notices were the main incentive for the birth and often rapid deaths of the news sheets.

The history of the newspapers parallels the opening of the last frontier as gold was discovered in April of 1876, and the first edition of the Black Hills Pioneer in Deadwood, the second oldest newspaper in South Dakota still in existence, appeared June 8, of the same year.

The saga of the pioneers with all of the hardships and obstacles encountered in their lives in the West, is duplicated in the difficulties which pioneer newsmen endured to record the first-hand story which still exists in the files of the Pioneer and the Times.

Through 86 years the Black Hills Pioneer, which later merged with the Times, has recorded the lives and incidents

of the gold rush, through the adolescence of the Camp and its arrival to manhood when law, order, and normal city life was established.

The men who brought the newspapers to the gold camps seem to have been pioneers in the true sense of the word in that very little monetary gain or comforts were their due. Freedom to live as they chose and the promise of adventure and wealth were incentive enough for them.

Management of the Deadwood Pioneer during the first 20 years of its existence changed hands at least 15 times. This is no record as paper after paper in the long list of those which mushroomed into existence were bought and sold, often after a period of a few months or even a few weeks. The original editors either turned to the more profitable business of mining, or discouraged, left the Hills for greener fields elsewhere.

Numerous papers were born from 1876 through the turn of the century, and died rapid deaths. The Pioneer and Times survived approximately 20 other newspapers in Deadwood, and finally, to ward off a "starving out" process, consolidated in self-defense.

Papers in other camps besides Deadwood also came into being, with some of the smallest camps harboring as many as four at one time, an impossible number to support. In short order, as soon as the final notices of claims began to clear

up, they faded from the scene being taken over by other papers or just ceasing to exist.

I have traced the beginnings of the newspapers in all of the registered mining camps of Lawrence County, most of which have long since disappeared.

Advertising was, as it is now, the backbone of the financial stability of newspapers. At that time, however, the ads were all written in essay style and ran sometimes for years on end since setting them was costly and time-consuming and, once set, almost impossible to improve upon as the same staples were the only items handled by the advertisers involved.

The lives of the editors and publishers both living and dead, afford a romance peculiar to mining camp life in the West.

Most of the early-day publishers were craftsmen in their own right, but some could not stand the rigors of the impossible conditions under which they were forced to work. Those who remained helped to establish a semblance of law and order in the towns by trying to write the news (local, state, and national) and by actively taking part in civic disputes and proposed improvements of the villages in which they headquartered. They often took sides in local feuds, such as the stands taken by the Lead Daily Call on the side of the Homestake Mining Company during the lockout.

They also stuck by their guns in the face of grave personal dangers.

The papers of these hardy editors reflect the story of the settling of the territory; the rough lives led by the men lured here by gold and the women who accompanied them. They faithfully recorded "firsts" in every phase of daily living and are the sole records in existence. Many times during the years, the only authority immigrants had to prove dates of arrival and ships' names on which they had arrived came from the files of the newspapers.

Through the study of the newspapers, many more interesting stories of these early people, some of whom are still alive, could be traced. These would fill several books of stories depicting the lives, troubles, and tribulations which accompanied the settlement of the gold camps.

I have also tried to show the contents of these newspapers and give a brief picture of the lives of those newspapermen who were responsible for the papers' existence and continuance.

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